

11/8/77 [3]

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**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

More than six months ago, in April, I spoke
to ~~[with]~~ you about the need for a ~~[comprehensive]~~ national

~~[energy]~~ policy^x to deal with our present and future
energy problems, ^{the next day} and I sent my proposals to
the Congress.

Tonight,
~~[I want to talk to you,]~~ at this crucial time, I want to
to emphasize why it is so important that we have an
a a nation
~~[national]~~ energy plan, and what we will risk, if we

are timid, or reluctant to face this challenge. *It is crucial
that you understand how serious this challenge is.*

~~Since April,~~ With every passing month,
~~[In the last six months]~~ our energy problems have
More ^{American drivers} ~~and more people~~ are breaking the speed limit.
grown worse. ^ This summer we used more oil and gasoline
More of our oil is coming from foreign countries.
than ever before in our history. ^ ~~Since last April~~
Just since April

our oil imports ~~[from foreign countries]~~ have cost us
\$23 billion -- about \$400 worth of ^{foreign} oil for every family

in the United States! ^ Recent polls show that ~~one~~
about half of our people do not ^{even} know that
we import any oil at all!

Many Americans do not understand the problem.

- 2 -

Let me try to measure the size ^{and effect} of the problem:

Our farmers are the greatest agricultural exporters the world has ever ^{known} ~~seen~~, but it ^{now} takes all the food and feed and fiber that we can export in two years ~~[of farm exports]~~ to pay for ^{just} one year's

imports of oil -- about \$45 billion! ^{TP} This excessive

importing of foreign oil is a tremendous and rapidly

increasing drain on our national economy. It hurts every American family.

^{Causes unemployment.}
It ~~costs us jobs.~~ ^{causes unemployment.} Every \$5 billion in

extra oil imports costs us about 200,000 American jobs.

It costs us business investments. Vast amounts of American wealth no longer stay in the United States, but go overseas to enrich other nations.

It increases ^{our} federal budget deficits.

It unbalances our nation's trade with other countries.

~~It creates record trade deficits -- this year,~~ ^{primarily because of oil, we} ~~we will~~ ^{import's will be} at least \$25 billion more than all the American ~~more than \$25 billion.~~ goods we sell overseas.

It could threaten the ^{future} strength of the dollar in world markets unless we act ~~[without delay]~~ to stop this drain on our nation's wealth.

It pushes up the international ^{energy} prices ~~of oil~~ as demand begins to outstrip ^{the world's} ~~our~~ ability to produce oil.
~~it~~

It feeds severe inflationary pressures ^{in our} own economy.

The excessive purchase of foreign oil also

^{It} makes the very security of our nation increasingly dependent on uncertain ^{energy} ~~[foreign oil]~~ supplies.

Our national security depends on more than our

armed forces. It also rests on the strength of our

economy, on our national will, and ^{on the ability to} ~~[on our freedom to~~

carry out our foreign policy

~~[act in international relations and trade]~~ as an a free and

^(America overseas is only as strong as America at home.) independent nation. ^PThe Secretary of Defense said

recently, "The present deficiency of assured energy

sources is the single surest threat . . . to our

security and that of our allies."

* * *

Perhaps as never before in peacetime, our nation is being tested. We are now on the eve of decision, when we will discover what the outcome of that test will be. ^{PH} Last week the Senate completed its work on the energy plan and sent it to a *Congressional* conference committee, where members of the House and Senate will now resolve differences between the bills they have passed. There, in the next few weeks, the strength and courage of our political system *will* ~~must~~ be proven.

* * *

First of all,

✓ the price of all energy is going up both

because of its increasing scarcity and because there

is no free market system in setting the price of oil.

With oil, the free enterprise system does not work.

The world price is set arbitrarily by a foreign

cartel -- the governments of the ^{so-called} OPEC nations. The

world price is now almost five times as great as it

was in 1973.

(A)
↓
P S

As one of the world's largest producers of coal and oil and gas,

~~energy~~, why do we have this problem *with energy?*

(A) → *Our demand for oil is doubling every ten years.*

We simply use too much -- and waste too much --

energy. ↓ Although all countries could be more efficient,

we are the worst offender. Since the great price rise

in 1973, the Japanese have cut their oil imports.

The Germans, the French, the British, the Canadians,

and the Italians have all cut their oil imports.

although we have large petroleum supplies of our own,
Meanwhile, ^Awe in the United States have increased our

imports of oil more than 40 percent!

This problem has come upon us suddenly. Just

when foreign oil was very cheap,
10 years ago ^{just} we imported $2\frac{1}{2}$ million barrels of oil

a day -- about 20 percent of what we used. By 1972

when foreign oil is very expensive,
we were importing about 30 percent. This year ^{are} we will

importing
~~import~~ ^{from foreign countries} $8\frac{1}{2}$ million barrels a day,

almost one-half of all the oil we use! Unless we act quickly, imports will continue to go up, and all the problems I have ^{just} described will grow even worse. *The other nations of the world await our decisions with great interest and concern.*

There are three things we must do to avoid the danger: ^{first,} cut back on consumption; ^{second,} shift away from oil and gas to other sources of energy; and ^{third,} encourage production of energy in the United States. These are the purposes of the new energy legislation.

In order to conserve energy, the Congress is now acting to make our automobiles, homes, ~~and other~~ ~~buildings~~ and appliances more efficient, and to encourage industry to save both usable heat and electricity.

shift to coal

The Congressional conference committee is now considering changes in how electric power rates are set in order to discourage waste, to reward those who use less energy, and to encourage a change in the use of electricity ^{during each day} to hours when demand is low.

Another important question before Congress is how to let the market price for domestic oil ^{go up to} reflect the cost of replacing it, while ^{at the same time} protecting ^{American} consumers and our economy.

~~The new energy legislation will also encourage~~
~~us to shift~~
~~conversion~~ from oil and gas to coal, wind, geothermal,
shale oil, methane and other energy ^{sources} ~~supplies~~ We will
use research and development projects, tax incentives
and penalties, and regulatory authority to hasten the
shift ~~away from unnecessary use of increasingly scarce~~
~~oil and natural gas~~

We have also proposed and Congress is acting on incentives to encourage production of oil and gas ^{here} in our own country. This is where another major controversy arises.

It is important that we ^{promote} ~~encourage~~ new oil and gas discoveries and increased production with adequate prices to the producers. ^{the price of} We have recommended that ^{new} natural gas be ^{raised} ~~priced~~ each year ~~[the same as the]~~ ^{to the} average price of domestic oil that would produce the same amount of energy. With this ^{new policy, the gross income of} ~~price, the~~ gas producers would ^{be average} ~~get~~ about \$2 billion per year more than at the present price level. ^{PP} New oil prices would ^{also} rise in three years to the present world ^{level} ~~price~~ with ^{an} ~~additional price increase~~ ^{each year} ~~an annual addition~~ to be added ^{for} inflation. This would be the highest price paid to any oil producers in the world. ^{PP These proposals} This ^{would} provide adequate incentives

for exploration and production of domestic oil and

gas, *but*

But some of the oil companies want much more --

tens of billions of dollars more. They want greatly

increased prices for "old" oil and gas -- energy

supplies which have already been discovered and are

being produced. They want ~~[earlier and]~~^{even} higher prices
than those we have proposed
for "new" gas and oil, and they want ~~them~~^{The high prices} sooner; they

want lower taxes on their profits, and ^{they want} government

financing or loans
~~funding~~ for energy production from a tax-^{supported}~~financed~~

energy trust fund.

These are controversial questions, and the Congressional
debates are
intense. The political pressures are great because the

stakes are so high. We should reward individuals and

companies who discover and produce new oil and gas,

but we must not give them huge windfall profits on

their existing wells at the expense of the American people.

The energy proposal I made to Congress last April has three basic elements, *to insure that it is well balanced:*

First, it is fair both to the American consumers and to the energy producers, and it ~~would~~^{will} disrupt our national economy as little as possible;

Second, it is designed to meet our important goals for energy conservation, ~~to~~ promote a shift to more plentiful and permanent energy supplies, and ~~to~~ encourage increased production of energy in the United States; and

Third, it protects our federal budget from any heavy financial burden.

All of these three qualities are very
I look forward to signing energy legislation
important. ~~I will sign an energy bill~~ if it meets
these conditions. ~~I will not approve energy~~
~~legislation which is unfair to the American consumer~~

During the next few weeks the Congress will
make a judgment on ~~this important legislation~~ ^{these vital questions.} I
will be working closely with them. You -- the American
people -- are also deeply involved in these decisions.

This is not a ~~test~~ ^{contest} of strength between the
President and the Congress, nor between the House and
the Senate. What is being ~~tested~~ ^{measured} is the strength and
will of our nation -- whether we can acknowledge a
threat and meet a serious challenge together. ^PI am

convinced that we can have ^{enough} energy to permit
the continued growth of our economy,
~~and~~ the expansion of production and
jobs, and to protect the security of
the United States.

I believe that this country can meet any challenge, but this is an exceptionally difficult one because the threat is not easy to see -- and the solution is neither simple nor politically popular.

I said six months ago that no one would be completely satisfied with this national energy plan. That prediction has turned out to be right. There is some part of this complex legislation to which every region and every interest group can object. But a common national sacrifice to meet this serious problem should be shared by everyone -- a proof that the plan is fair. Many groups have risen to the challenge, but there are still ^{some} ~~those~~ who seek personal gain over the national interest.

It is ^{also} especially difficult to deal with ^{long range} ~~future~~ ~~distant~~ challenges. A President is elected for just

a Senator for six, and in Congress serves only year.
four years, ~~a Representative for two and a Senator~~
~~for six.~~

It has always been easier to wait until
the next year or the next term of office -- ^{to} avoid
political risk.

^{do}
But you ~~did~~ not choose your elected officials
simply to fill an office. The Congress is facing very
difficult decisions, and we have formed a good
partnership. *All of us need your help.*

* * *

This energy plan is a good insurance policy for
the future, in which relatively small premiums we
pay ^{today} ~~now~~ will protect us in the years ahead. If we
fail to act boldly now, then we will soon face a
greater series of crises.

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for Preservation Purposes

This is an effort which requires vision and
cooperation from ~~all~~ ^{Americans} ~~of us~~. I hope that each of you
will ~~[show your concern by taking steps in your own~~
^{take steps to}
~~private life]~~ ^{and} conserve our precious energy, ~~but~~ also
joining ~~ing~~ with your elected officials at all levels
of government to meet this ^{great} ~~serious~~ test of our nation's
^{judgment and will}
~~will~~.

These are serious problems, and this has been
a serious talk. But our energy plan also reflects
the optimism I feel about our ability to deal with ^{these}
~~our~~ problems. The story of the human race is ^{one} of
adapting to ^{changing} ~~[changed]~~ circumstances. The ^{history} ~~story~~ of our
nation is ^{one} ~~the story~~ of meeting challenges, and overcoming
them. This ^{energy} ^{necessary} ^{long} plan is a first step on that ^{long} road.

I hope that, perhaps one hundred years from
the change
now ~~{ when the transition }~~ to permanent energy sources will have
~~and the~~ and our nation's concern about
has been made, ~~our concerns about energy will seem~~
energy will be over.
~~exaggerated.~~ But we can make that transition smoothly -
for our country and for our children and grandchildren -
only if we take careful steps ^{now} to prepare ourselves for
the future.
~~now~~

During the next few weeks attention
~~The focus now is~~ ^{will be focused} on the Congress, but the *proving*

~~test~~ of our courage and commitment will continue,

in different forms and places, in the months and
and generations ~~years~~ ^{if we work together, it}
ahead. ~~We~~ need not be ^{very} unpleasant for any of

^{continuing}
us to make a patriotic sacrifice for the well-being

and security of our ^{great} nation. *If I hope that you*

will join in this effort I have
confidence in you

Vice President Mondale
PRESIDENT CARTER, 3rd ROUGH DRAFT 11/8/77

To Jim, Charlie,
Sta, Tody. Return
before noon. no
Copies - J. C.

More than six months ago, in April, I spoke to you about the need for a national policy to deal with our present and future energy problems, and the next day I sent my proposals to the Congress.

Tonight, at this crucial time, I want to emphasize why it is so important that we have an energy plan, and what we will risk as a nation if we are timid, or reluctant to face this challenge. It is crucial that you understand how serious this challenge is.

With every passing month, our energy problems have grown worse. More American drivers are breaking the speed limit. This summer we used more oil and gasoline than ever before in our history. More of our oil is coming from foreign countries. Just since

April our oil imports have cost us \$23 billion --
about \$400 worth of foreign oil for every family in
the United States.

7
6
7
6
Many Americans still do not understand the
problem.) Recent polls show that about half of our
people do not even know that we import any oil at
all!

Let me try to measure the size and effect of
the problem: our farmers are the greatest agricultural
exporters the world has ever known, but it now takes
all the food and feed and fiber that we can export in
two years to pay for just one year's imports of oil --
about \$45 billion!

This excessive importing of foreign oil is a tremendous and rapidly increasing drain on our national economy. It hurts every American family.

It causes unemployment. Every \$5 billion in extra oil imports costs us about 200,000 American jobs.

It costs us business investments. Vast amounts of American wealth no longer stay in the United States, but go overseas to enrich other nations.

It increases our federal budget deficits.

It unbalances our nation's trade with other countries. This year, primarily because of oil, our imports will be at least \$25 billion more than all the American goods we sell overseas.

It could threaten the future strength of the dollar in world markets unless we act to stop this

drain on our nation's wealth.

It pushes up international energy prices as demand begins to outstrip the world's ability to produce oil.

(Serious)
It feeds ~~severe~~ inflationary pressures in our own economy.

J. Edgar Hoover
The excessive purchase of foreign oil ~~also~~ *could* makes ~~the~~ the very security of our nation increasingly dependent on uncertain energy supplies. Our national security depends on more than our armed forces. It also rests on the strength of our economy, on our national will, and on the ability of the United States to carry out our foreign policy as a free and independent nation. America overseas is only as strong as America at home.

~~Do the same. We must be strong~~

The Secretary of Defense said recently, "The present deficiency of assured energy sources is the single surest threat . . . to our security and that of our allies."

*✓ Do the Reverse: We must be strong
our Plan is the
* * only one.*

Perhaps as never before in peacetime, our nation is being tested. We are now on the eve of decision, when we will discover what the outcome of that test will be.

Last week the Senate completed its work on the energy plan and sent it to a Congressional conference committee, where members of the House and Senate will now resolve differences between the bills they have passed. There, in the next few weeks, the strength and courage of our political system will be proven.

As one of the world's largest producers of coal and oil and gas, why do we have this problem with energy?

First of all, the price of all energy is going up both because of its increasing scarcity and because there is no free market system in setting the price of oil. With oil, the free enterprise system does not work. The world price is set arbitrarily by a foreign cartel -- the governments of the so-called OPEC nations. The world price is now almost five times as great as it was in 1973.

We simply use too much -- and waste too much -- energy. Our demand for oil is doubling every ten years. Although all countries could be more efficient, we are

the worst offender. Since the great price rise in 1973, the Japanese have cut their oil imports. The Germans, the French, the British, the Canadians, and the Italians have all cut their oil imports. Meanwhile, although we have large petroleum supplies of our own, we in the United States have increased our imports of oil more than 40 percent!

This problem has come upon us suddenly. Just 10 years ago, when foreign oil was very cheap, we imported just 2½ million barrels of oil a day -- about 20 percent of what we used. By 1972 we were importing about 30 percent. This year, when foreign oil is very expensive, we are importing 8½ million barrels a day -- almost one-half of all the oil we use! Unless we act quickly, imports will continue to go up, and all the problems I have just described will grow even worse.

I have postponed my overseas trip until after Christmas because of the paramount importance of developing an effective energy plan this year.

The other nations of the world await our decisions with great interest and concern.

There are three things we must do to avoid the danger: first, cut back on consumption; second, shift away from oil and gas to other sources of energy; and, third, encourage production of energy in the United States. These are the purposes of the new energy legislation.

In order to conserve energy, the Congress is now acting to make our automobiles, homes, and appliances more efficient, and to encourage industry to save both usable heat and electricity.

The Congressional conference committee is now considering changes in how electric power rates are set in order to discourage waste, to reward those who

use less energy, and to encourage a change in the use of electricity during each day to hours when demand is low. Another important question before Congress is how to let the market price for domestic oil go up to reflect the cost of replacing it, while at the same time protecting American consumers and our economy.

We will use research and development projects, tax incentives and penalties, and regulatory authority to hasten the shift from oil and gas to coal, wind, geothermal, shale oil, methane and other energy sources.

We have also proposed and Congress is acting on incentives to encourage production of oil and gas here in our own country. This is where another major controversy arises.

It is important that we promote new oil and gas discoveries and increased production with adequate prices to the producers.

We have recommended that the price of new natural gas be raised each year to the average price of domestic oil that would produce the same amount of energy.

With this new policy, the gross income of gas producers would average^ℓ about \$2 billion per year more than at the present price level.

New oil prices would also rise in three years to the present world level with an additional price increase to be added each year for inflation. This would be the highest price paid to any oil producers in the world.

These proposals would provide adequate incentives for exploration and production of domestic oil and gas, but some of the oil companies want much more -- tens of billions of dollars more. They want greatly increased prices for "old" oil and gas -- energy supplies which have already been discovered and are being produced. They want even higher prices than those we have proposed for "new" gas and oil, and they want the high prices sooner; they want lower taxes on their profits, and they want government financing or loans for energy production from a tax-supported energy trust fund.

These are controversial questions, and the Congressional debates are intense. The political pressures are great because the stakes are so high. We should reward individuals and companies who discover

and produce new oil and gas, but we must not give them huge windfall profits on their existing wells at the expense of the American people.

The energy proposal I made to Congress last April has three basic elements to insure that it is well balanced.

First, it is fair both to the American consumers and to the energy producers, and it will disrupt our national economy as little as possible;

Second, it is designed to meet our important goals for energy conservation, promote a shift to more plentiful and permanent energy supplies, and encourage increased production of energy in the United States; and

Third, it protects our federal budget from any heavy financial burden.

All of these three qualities are very important. I look forward to signing energy legislation if it meets these conditions.

During the next few weeks the Congress will make a judgment on these vital questions. I will be working closely with them. You -- the American people -- are also deeply involved in these decisions.

This is not a contest of strength between the President and the Congress, nor between the House and the Senate. What is being measured is the strength and will of our nation -- whether we can acknowledge a threat and meet a serious challenge together.

I am convinced that we can have enough energy to permit the continued growth of our economy, the expansion of production and jobs, and to protect the security of the United States.

I believe that this country can meet any challenge, but this is an exceptionally difficult one because the threat is not easy to see -- and the solution is neither simple nor politically popular.

I said six months ago that no one would be completely satisfied with this national energy plan. That prediction has turned out to be right. There is some part of this complex legislation to which every region and every interest group can object. But a common national sacrifice to meet this serious problem should be shared by everyone -- a proof that the plan is fair. Many groups have risen to the

challenge, but there are still some who seek personal gain over the national interest.

It is also especially difficult to deal with long range future challenges. A President is elected for just four years, a Senator for six, and a Representative in Congress serves for only two years. It has always been easier to wait until the next year or the next term of office -- to avoid political risk.

But you do not choose your elected officials simply to fill an office. The Congress is facing very difficult decisions, and we have formed a good partnership. All of us need your help.

* * *

This energy plan is a good insurance policy for the future, in which relatively small premiums we pay today will protect us in the years ahead. If we fail to act boldly now, then we will soon face a greater series of crises.

This is an effort which requires vision and cooperation from all Americans. I hope that each of you will take steps to conserve our precious energy, and also join with your elected officials at all levels of government to meet this great test of our nation's judgment and will.

These are serious problems, and this has been a serious talk. But our energy plan also reflects the optimism I feel about our ability to deal with these problems. The story of the human race is one of adapting to changing circumstances. The history of our nation is one of meeting challenges, and overcoming

them. This energy plan is a necessary first step on that long road.

I hope that perhaps one hundred years from now the change to permanent energy sources will have been made, and our nation's concern about energy will be over. But we can make that transition smoothly -- for our country and for our children and grandchildren -- only if we take careful steps now to prepare ourselves for the future.

During the next few weeks attention will be focused on the Congress, but the proving of our courage and commitment will continue, in different forms and places, in the months and years and generations ahead. If we work together, it need not be very unpleasant for any of us to make a continuing

patriotic sacrifice for the well-being and security
of our great nation. I hope that you will join in
this effort. I have confidence in you.

-- Susan

- a) While Congress worked, situation got worse
- b) International Community - OPEC & Consumers - US effect
- c) Autos
- d) Homes
- e) Industry
- f) Electrical rates
- g) New sources
- h) Prices up - Gas/oil old \rightarrow Consumers new \rightarrow Industry
- i) Taxes - Collected back to people
- j) Present Consumption
- k) Savings NEP, House, Senate
- l) Costs " " "
- m) What has been done
- n) Remaining issues
- o) 3 general goals
- p) Incentives for production
- q)

THE Christian INDEX

ESTABLISHED EIGHTEEN TWENTY TWO

JACK U. HARWELL, EDITOR-MANAGER

BAPTIST CENTER, 2930 FLOWERS ROAD SOUTH

ATLANTA, GA 30341 - PHONE 404 • 455-0404

(h) 934-4995

9:30 Dec
16
(15 men)

November 8, 1977

Dec.
9:30 a.m. (27)
(20)
78-79
K

Mr. Jack Carter
Langford, Pope and Bailey
Piedmont Street
Calhoun, Georgia

Dear Jack:

As you will recall, I wrote to you several months ago, asking if you would get to your father a request from leaders of church-related colleges their appeal for him to give them a brief audience, and for him to make a brief statement in support of private colleges and their role in teaching moral values.

You did that, your father responded and I am deeply grateful. The President, in his letter to me on the subject said he wanted to be sure that he didn't appear to be sponsoring some sort of conference on private higher education. I agree with that concern.

The men who have been trying to put this idea together have come together and drafted a statement which they would like very much to make to President Carter in the White House; also they researched President Carter's previous speeches on private colleges and drafted a possible response he might wish to make. These two statements are attached.

They have asked me to intercede with you and see if you can get these tentative statements to the proper person on President Carter's staff, to see if he can possibly give this group a brief audience to give them encouragement in their assignments.

A list is attached of the men who shared in this invitation, and who would like to be included in the White House audience if President Carter can see them. As you can see, it is a broad cross-section of denominations and races, truly representative of church-related colleges in America.

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1977
CENTRAL FILES

THE Christian INDEX

ESTABLISHED EIGHTEEN TWENTY-TWO
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ATLANTA, GA. 30341 - PHONE 404 • 455-0404

-2-

Mr. Jack Carter

November 8, 1977

In previous correspondence to you and President Carter, the men were pondering an international conference on private education, and hoping your Dad would announce that conference when they meet with him. But because of his concern that he not appear to be announcing some kind of White House conference on education, they agree that such a conference could be announced much later, by their own leadership and not by President Carter.

If you could pass this on to the proper people, and ask them if President Carter could possibly suggest two or three alternate dates when this meeting could be held, I would be grateful.

A meeting will be held in Nashville November 22, to plan some other important higher education activities. It would be extremely helpful if the White House could give some kind of indication about the President's willingness to share in this statement by then. If not, we understand perfectly his demands.

I will be deeply grateful for any help you can give us on this request.

Your friend,



Jack U. Harwell

JUH:gn
encl.

DRAFT

PROPOSED MEETING OF THE HEADS OF BOARDS
OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF CHURCH RELATED
COLLEGES WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tim - 15
or 20 min.
ok
J.C.
Call Horrell
today
J

Mr. President, We would like to take this opportunity to express to you our sincere appreciation for your willingness in the face of your heavy responsibilities and crowded schedule, to meet with a group of church-related college representatives.

We have present here today representatives from the largest to the smallest denominations, Protestant, Catholic, black, and white.

However diverse as we may be, we are one in our belief that the the church-related college has played and must continue to play a significant role in American higher education and in the continuing development of our national values.

We know that you are aware of the many problems with which we are confronted. We have pressing financial problems, particularly in areas of student financial assistance. There are critical problems that have arisen in relation to increasing government control of educational institutions. There are particular educational problems in relation to minority groups in need of urgent attention. We know that you are aware of these problems,

but we would like to say that as pressing as these problems are, these are not the main reasons why we have asked for this meeting with you today.

First, we would like to commend you in your goal of restoring integrity and probity in public life and in government.

Second, we would like to commend you for your stand on human rights at home and around the world.

Third, we would like to commend you for what we believe to be your deep concern for both public and private higher education.

Furthermore, we believe that your willingness to meet with us today in itself constitutes a special endorsement for the contribution of the church related college.

We are encouraged by the increasing evidence of renewed interest in the support of church related colleges. Recent studies by Dr. Earl McGrath, former U. S. Commissioner of Education and currently director of the Program in Liberal Studies at the University of Arizona, indicates that many church-related colleges are experiencing growth in enrollment and increasing financial support from their constituents. Of the three thousand colleges and universities operating today, about eight hundred colleges are church related. These institutions account for about two-thirds of all the colleges in the private sector. There is now taking place a positive reassessment of the contributions which these institutions are making to the religious, cultural, social, and economic development of our nation.

Nevertheless, if we are to solve our problems and respond to new challenges of service, these church related colleges and universities must be viewed as national assets and treasures deserving the widest support. This is the reason that we feel your endorsement is so vital to our purposes at this time.

A part of our response to your own national goals is to reaffirm our responsibility for assisting students in developing responsible citizenship, in creating attitudes of tolerance and understanding, in affirming the dignity and worth of the individual, and in defending civil, intellectual, and religious freedoms.

In asking for a special word of encouragement from our President, we also want to reaffirm our confidence in public colleges and universities. We do not view ourselves as competitors but as a dynamic part of the finest and most comprehensive program of higher education ever devised by any government, and pledge our complete cooperation in supporting higher education both public and private as the ~~mean~~ means to insure a responsible but free society.

###

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT

Stu

SUBJECT: Energy Speech

Attached are the following:

- 1) My comments on your last speech draft which you requested be in today. I have made my changes in red pen and provided justifications, where necessary, in the margins in black pen.

The thrust of the changes I have made are directed toward making the speech much tougher and more urgent. I also believe that it needs to be a bit longer than the one you have and that it needs to capture a sense of urgency at the very beginning. I have also attempted to incorporate as many of the relevant and useful agency comments which we have solicited and obtained.

- 2) Dr. Schlesinger's comments and his attachment.
- 3) Pat Caddell's comments. Please note that his page references are to Jim Fallows' last draft. However, the rhetoric is easily insertable where relevant in your draft. I have taken a few thoughts from Pat's language and incorporated them into my comments.

To: The President
From: Sh

Draft #5

ROUGH
PRESIDENT CARTER, DRAFT, 11/4/77

cc: Schlesinger, ^{From} Stu, Schultz,
Jody, Fallows
Do not make copies -
Submit suggestions
Saturday -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
For Tues night

J.C.

More than six months ago, in April, I spoke
with you about the need to establish a new and
comprehensive national energy policy in order to help
solve our present and future energy problems.

[This will help set
the grave tone
necessary to capture
audience attention.
There is no reason
now to complain
Congress - it makes
people think most of
the work has been done]

The Congress has been hard at work and a great
~~deal of~~ progress has been made, but in the meantime

Each day that we wait
the energy situation ~~has~~ grown worse.

on the National Energy Plan I submitted

Difficult decisions remain - decisions which will
determine whether we have the will as a people
to act now to
prevent a catastrophe
from overtaking us
in the future.

This summer, we used more oil and gasoline
than ever before in history. ~~About 8 million barrels~~
~~a day was produced in America, but~~ since April our
oil imports from foreign countries have cost
\$23 billion -- about \$500 worth of oil for every
family in the United States!

[Not essential:
doesn't flow into
balance of sentence]

[This consolidates
references + stresses a
key theme of speech -
foreign dependence - early]

→ Insert revised A from p. 4

~~We know that~~ ^{our} farmers are the greatest agricultural exporters the world has ever seen, but it takes two years of farm exports to pay for one year's imports of oil -- about \$45 billion! This excessive importing of ^{foreign} oil is a tremendous and rapidly increasing drain on our national economy. ^{It comes to nearly \$1000 for a family of four.}

[We're checking these figures with COA]

It costs us jobs -- about 200,000 a year.

It ~~costs us~~ ^{takes away money our businesses need to make new investments and to create new jobs.} business investments.

It creates record trade deficits -- this year

about \$30 billion. ^{We would have a trade surplus and more jobs at home if we were spending only as much for imported oil as we did in 1973.}

It ~~weakens~~ the dollar in world markets. ^{if it continues, in the future could threaten the strength of}

It ~~tends to~~ push up the international price

of oil ^{in a devastating spiral as our demand for oil and gas is beginning to outstrip our ability to produce it.} with too much demand for limited supplies.

^{feeds} It creates severe inflationary pressures.

[Treasury does not want to make these self-fulfilling prophecies]

It makes the very security of our nation

increasingly dependent on uncertain foreign oil

supplies. ^{What is at stake is our continued ability to act independently as a nation - in conducting our foreign affairs, in maintaining the strength of our economy, in providing a decent life for all our people. [over]} The Secretary of Defense said recently,

"The present deficiency of assured energy sources is

the single surest threat . . . to our security and that

of our allies."

~~Although~~ ^{both} the price of all energy is going up

because of its increasing scarcity, ^{and because} there is no free

market system in setting the price of oil. In all

~~producing countries the governments set the price of~~

~~domestic oil, and the world price is set arbitrarily~~

^{a foreign cartel - -} by the governments of the OPEC nations. The world

price is now ~~100~~ ⁷ times as great as it was in 1973.

As one of the world's largest producers of energy,

why do we have this problem?

[You said that at your Press Conference. This is the dramatic key point which must be gotten across]

[This clarifies this sentence & makes it flow better]

These heavy inputs affect our national security and our freedom of action
in international affairs since they could be interrupted during a dispute
or war - even a war in which we were not involved. ~~These heavy inputs~~

~~These heavy inputs affect our national security and our freedom of action~~
~~in international affairs since they could be interrupted during a dispute~~
~~or war - even a war in which we were not involved.~~

~~Now,~~ ^W We simply use too much -- and waste too much -- energy. Although all countries are involved, we are the worst offender. Since the great price rise in 1973, the Japanese have cut their oil imports.

The Germans, the French, the British, and the Italians have all cut their oil imports. Meanwhile, we in the

United States have ^{more than doubled} ~~increased~~ our imports of oil, ^{more} ~~more~~ ^{Our} leadership in the eyes of the world is suspect each day we want to join our closest allies to reduce imports. than _____ percent!

We have become excessively dependent on uncertain foreign oil supplies. ~~This is a recent problem.~~ Just 10 years

ago we were a net exporter of oil. ~~By~~ 1972 we were

importing more than 20 percent. In 1973 we imported

more than one-third. This year we will import ^{from foreign countries}

about one-half of all the oil we use -- about $8\frac{1}{2}$ million barrels each day, 3 billion each year.

To show the magnitude of our problem, I signed today the Congressional Budget Act. I recently sent to Congress what it will help our production, it will still supply us with our natural gas needs.

There are three things we must do: cut back

on consumption; shift away from oil and gas to other

Insert & bothamp.1

sources of energy; and encourage production in the United States. These are the purposes of the new energy legislation.

By the next few weeks Congress will decide whether we have the will to enact such legislation. A joint House-Senate Conference is now determining whether at long last America will have a real energy program.

In order to conserve energy, the Congress has

moved boldly to increase the efficiency of automobiles,

homes and other buildings, appliances, and to encourage

industry to save both usable heat and electricity. *This will save our oil and natural gas for their most valuable uses - by farmers, in trucks and railroads and airplanes, and for heating our homes.*

~~In a joint House and Senate Conference The~~

Congress is now considering mandatory changes in setting

electric power rates in order to discourage waste,

to reward those who use lower amounts of energy, and

to encourage ^{a change in} the use of electricity ^{to} ~~during~~ hours when ^{demand is low} ~~it is most readily available.~~ [^] ~~it~~ Another important

question now being resolved by Congress is how to

let the market price for domestic oil move up to

approximately its replacement value with maximum

[This sets the stage + reveals attention in the Conference]

fairness to consumers and the least damage to our

economy. *This is why we have proposed debates to the consumer to protect against rising energy prices.*

Conversion to coal, wind and geothermal, shale oil, methane and other energy supplies will also be encouraged by the new legislation. Research and development projects, tax incentives and penalties, and regulatory authority will be used to shift away from unnecessary use of increasingly scarce oil and natural gas.

We have also proposed and Congress is acting on incentives to encourage production of oil and gas in our own country. This is where ^{another} the major controversy arises.

[COET is an equally major controversy]

It is important that new oil and gas discoveries and increased production be encouraged

with adequate prices to the producers. We have recommended that new natural gas be priced each year the same as the average ^{equivalent} price of domestic oil, ~~needed~~ ~~to produce an equal amount of energy.~~ This price would give the gas producers an average increase of about \$2 billion per year above the ^{present} price level. New oil prices would rise in three years to the present world price, with an annual addition to be added for inflation. This would be the highest price ^{paid any} to oil producers in the world. This would, in my opinion, provide adequate incentives for exploration and production of domestic oil and gas.

[We should take the high road. The oil companies' cooperation will be essential.]

Some producers and groups have been statesmanlike. But other ~~The~~ oil companies want much more -- tens of

billions of dollars more. They want greatly increased prices for "old" oil and gas -- energy supplies

which have been
already discovered and ~~being~~ produced. They want

earlier and higher prices for "new" gas and oil,
lower taxes on their profits, and government funding
for energy production from a tax-financed energy

trust fund. *The proposals of some for deregulation of natural gas now would cost consumers an extra \$70 billion by 1985*

The political pressures are great because the
stakes are so high. We cannot *place these extra burdens on the* ~~overly reward the oil~~
~~companies at the expense~~ *backs of all* of the American people *for the benefit of*
a few.

The energy proposal I made to Congress last
April ~~had~~ *has* three basic elements:

First, it ~~was~~ *is* fair to the American consumers
and to the energy producers, and provided a minimum
disturbance to our national economy;

Second, it ^{is} ~~was~~ designed to meet ten important goals for energy conservation, to promote a shift to more plentiful and permanent energy supplies, and to encourage increased production of ~~energy~~ ^{oil and gas} in the United States; and

Third, it protected our federal budget from any heavy financial burden.

[This is necessary to stress you won't accept just any energy bill]

All of these basic elements are very important. I will decide whether to ~~be~~ sign an energy bill by whether it meets these conditions. I will not accept a bill which is unfair to the American consumer.

During the next few weeks the Congress will make a judgment on this important legislation. I will be working closely with them, and you — The American people — are also deeply involved in these decisions.

This is not a test of strength between the President and the Congress, nor between the House and the Senate. What is being tested is the strength and will of our nation -- whether we can acknowledge a threat and meet a serious challenge together.

I believe that this country can meet any challenge, but this is an exceptionally difficult one because the threat is not easy to see -- and the subject is neither simple nor politically popular.

I said six months ago that no one would be completely satisfied with this national energy plan.

[There is no reason to "know" about this]
That production has turned
~~I have~~ turned out to be right. There is some part of this complex legislation to which every region and every interest group can object. But a common

national sacrifice to meet this serious problem

should be shared by everyone -- a proof that the

plan is fair. *Many groups have risen to the challenge. But there are still those who seek personal gain over the national interest.*

It is especially difficult to deal with distant challenges. A President is elected for just four years, a Representative for two, and a Senator for six. It has always been easier to wait until the next year or the next term of office -- to avoid political risk.

But you did not *choose your elected officials simply* ~~choose me nor the members of~~

~~the House or Senate simply to fill an office. The~~

~~Congress is acting courageously and well, and we~~

~~have formed a good partnership.~~

[This has a

Nixonian focus
originally drafted]

[No - this shifts
tone & takes heat
off of Congress]

This energy plan is a good insurance policy

for the future, in which relatively small premiums

we pay now will protect us in the years ahead.

[Needed to show
consequences of inaction] If we fail to act boldly now, we will face a greater crisis soon. Prices for energy will skyrocket; we will become increasingly dependant on foreign oil; we will be under great pressure for crash programs with increased government intrusion and fewer environmental safeguards. This can be avoided if we only act now.

and cooperation from all of us. I hope that each of

you will show your concern by taking steps in your

own private life to conserve our precious energy,

but ~~also by making sure that~~ ^{joining with} your elected officials

at all levels of government ~~know that you want them~~ ^{to}

~~to act -- along with you --~~ to meet this serious

test of our nation's will.

The focus now is on the Congress, but the

test of our courage and commitment will continue,

in different forms and places, in the months and

[Too blunt &
crude; too obvious
going over head
of Congress. They
will greatly
resent.]

years ahead. It need not be unpleasant for any of
us to make a patriotic sacrifice for the well-being
and security of our nation.

[Ending of this
type warning to hold
out hope if we do
act]

[This paraphrase
a Caddell thought]

This historic moment commands the attention of all of us. We stand on the docket of history - answers to those yet unborn whose future will be enhanced or endangered by our action.

With your help and the help of Congress we can pass to them and to our children and grandchildren not a country which is vulnerable to foreign governments for our energy but a country which remains, as today, proud, vigorous, prosperous, and strong.



Department of Energy
Washington, D.C. 20585

November 5, 1977

Mr. President:

Above all, the speech must be in words that you are comfortable with -- and can be expressed with conviction (and practice). The following suggestions may be in order.

1. The speech needs more lilt. It has become quite concrete -- and deals with the problems of the here and now. It needs to reach the high ground, revealing the President as a leader of vision looking into the distant future. Consequently it could use more emphasis on the nation's destiny and more talk (once again) about our children and grandchildren. The following themes may be in order:

a. If we fail to take advantage of the time that we now have to make adjustments, we shall face in the 1980's serious economic problems of unemployment, accelerated inflation that will shake the confidence of the people in our social system. It would threaten not only our standard of living but the very structure of our system of free institutions. It could shake the political and social foundations of the United States in a way that has not occurred since the Great Depression of the 1930's.

b. We must avoid the easy but short-term course; we must wean ourselves away from growing dependence on oil, the supply of which will be short in relation to demand in the years ahead.

c. (The speech should emphasize long-term hope as well as sacrifice.) In the long-term we can count on the imagination and inventiveness of American scientists and technical people to provide us with inexhaustible sources of energy. Our scientists have not failed us yet.

2. At the close the speech seems to waffle regarding whether you are working with the Congress or going over its head to the people. A clear choice should be made. I would lean towards removing phrases that might be regarded as critical of the Congress -- and demand action by the Congress, not through criticism, but by being on the high ground of the nation's long-term needs.

3. On the bottom of page 3 and page 4, the problem seems to be attributed primarily to our own failings. It seems to me that it is appropriate to state here that prices are under the control of a foreign cartel. It has a note of menace -- and of challenge to us as Americans. It would elicit a better response than the listing of our foibles -- and is equally a segment of the truth.

4. It would seem to me undesirable to strike at the oil companies again, specifically. You can, of course, generalize about special interest groups, who may be too short-sighted to recognize the longer term interests of the nation. It is a theme that can be tied into the reference to resistance to your national energy plan at the bottom of page 10.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J. C. ...' with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke at the end.

P.S. I attach a speech that was given in Denver. Jim Fallows may find some useful phrases in it to include in your remarks.

JRS

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON ENERGY
NOVEMBER 8, 1977

MORE THAN SIX MONTHS AGO, IN APRIL, I SPOKE
TO YOU ABOUT THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY TO
DEAL WITH OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE ENERGY PROBLEMS,
AND THE NEXT DAY I SENT MY PROPOSALS TO THE
CONGRESS. /

THE CONGRESS HAS RECOGNIZED THE URGENCY
OF THIS PROBLEM, AND HAS COME TO GRIPS WITH SOME
OF THE MOST COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT DECISIONS A
LEGISLATIVE BODY HAS EVER BEEN ASKED TO MAKE. /

WORKING WITH CONGRESS WE HAVE ~~NEW~~ FORMED
A NEW DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY, HEADED BY SECRETARY
JAMES SCHLESINGER. WE NOW HAVE THE ABILITY TO
ADMINISTER THE NEW ENERGY LEGISLATION, AND
CONGRESSIONAL WORK ON THE NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN
HAS ~~BEEN~~ REACHED THE FINAL STAGE. /

LAST WEEK THE SENATE SENT ITS VERSION OF THE
LEGISLATION TO THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEES, WHERE
MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE WILL NOW RESOLVE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BILLS THEY HAVE PASSED.
THERE, IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, THE STRENGTH AND
COURAGE OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WILL BE PROVEN.

THE CHOICES FACING THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
ARE NOT EASY. FOR THEM TO PASS AN EFFECTIVE AND

FAIR PLAN, THEY WILL NEED YOUR SUPPORT AND
UNDERSTANDING -- YOUR SUPPORT TO RESIST
PRESSURES FROM A FEW FOR SPECIAL FAVORS AT
THE EXPENSE OF THE REST OF US AND YOUR UNDERSTANDING
THAT THERE CAN BE NO EFFECTIVE PLAN WITHOUT SOME
SACRIFICE FROM ALL OF US. /

TONIGHT, AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME, I WANT TO
EMPHASIZE WHY IT IS SO IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE AN
ENERGY PLAN, AND WHAT WE WILL RISK AS A NATION
IF WE ARE TIMID, OR RELUCTANT TO FACE THIS CHALLENGE.
IT IS CRUCIAL THAT YOU UNDERSTAND HOW SERIOUS
THIS CHALLENGE IS. /

WITH EVERY PASSING MONTH, OUR ENERGY
PROBLEMS HAVE GROWN WORSE. THIS SUMMER WE USED

MORE OIL AND GASOLINE THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR
HISTORY• MORE OF OUR OIL IS COMING FROM FOREIGN
COUNTRIES• JUST SINCE APRIL OUR OIL IMPORTS
HAVE COST US \$23 BILLION -- ABOUT \$350 WORTH
OF FOREIGN OIL FOR THE ^{AVERAGE} ~~TYPICAL~~ AMERICAN FAMILY. /

A FEW WEEKS AGO IN DETROIT AN UNEMPLOYED
STEELWORKER TOLD ME SOMETHING THAT MAY REFLECT
THE FEELINGS OF MANY OF YOU. "MR. PRESIDENT,"
HE SAID, "I DON'T FEEL MUCH LIKE TALKING ABOUT ENERGY
AND FOREIGN POLICY• ^{I'M} ~~I AM~~ CONCERNED ABOUT HOW
I AM GOING TO LIVE• • • • I CAN'T BE TOO CONCERNED
ABOUT OTHER THINGS WHEN I HAVE A 10 YEAR OLD
DAUGHTER TO RAISE AND I DON'T HAVE A JOB, AND
I AM 56 YEARS OLD." /

I UNDERSTAND HOW HE FELT, BUT I MUST TELL
YOU THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH IS THAT YOU CANNOT
TALK ABOUT OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS NOW OR IN THE
FUTURE WITHOUT TALKING ABOUT ENERGY•/

LET ME TRY TO DESCRIBE THE SIZE AND EFFECT
OF THE PROBLEM: OUR FARMERS ARE THE GREATEST
AGRICULTURAL EXPORTERS THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN,
BUT IT NOW TAKES ALL THE FOOD AND FIBER THAT WE
EXPORT IN TWO YEARS TO PAY FOR JUST ONE YEAR OF
IMPORTED OIL -- ABOUT \$45 BILLION! /

THIS EXCESSIVE IMPORTING OF FOREIGN OIL IS
A TREMENDOUS AND RAPIDLY INCREASING DRAIN ON OUR
NATIONAL ECONOMY• IT HURTS EVERY AMERICAN
FAMILY•

IT CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT• EVERY \$5 BILLION
INCREASE IN OIL IMPORTS COSTS US ABOUT 200,000
AMERICAN JOBS• /

IT COSTS US BUSINESS INVESTMENTS• VAST
AMOUNTS OF AMERICAN WEALTH NO LONGER STAY IN THE
UNITED STATES TO BUILD OUR FACTORIES AND GIVE US
A BETTER LIFE• /

IT MAKES IT HARDER FOR US TO BALANCE OUR
FEDERAL BUDGET AND TO FINANCE NEEDED PROGRAMS FOR
OUR PEOPLE• /

IT UNBALANCES OUR NATION'S TRADE WITH OTHER
COUNTRIES• THIS YEAR, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF OIL,
OUR IMPORTS WILL BE AT LEAST \$25 BILLION MORE THAN
ALL THE AMERICAN GOODS WE SELL OVERSEAS• /

IT ~~PURSHES~~ UP INTERNATIONAL ENERGY PRICES BECAUSE
EXCESSIVE IMPORTING OF OIL BY THE UNITED STATES MAKES IT
EASIER FOR FOREIGN PRODUCERS TO RAISE THEIR PRICES. /

IT FEEDS SERIOUS INFLATIONARY PRESSURES IN OUR
OWN ECONOMY. /

IF THIS TREND CONTINUES, THE EXCESSIVE RELIANCE ON
FOREIGN OIL COULD MAKE THE VERY SECURITY OF OUR NATION
INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON UNCERTAIN ENERGY SUPPLIES.
OUR NATIONAL SECURITY DEPENDS ON MORE THAN OUR ARMED
FORCES. IT ALSO RESTS ON THE STRENGTH OF OUR
ECONOMY, ON OUR NATIONAL WILL, AND ON THE ABILITY
OF THE UNITED STATES TO CARRY OUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY
AS A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATION. AMERICA OVERSEAS
IS ONLY AS STRONG AS AMERICA AT HOME. /

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SAID RECENTLY, 'THE
PRESENT DEFICIENCY OF ASSURED ENERGY SOURCES IS
THE SINGLE SUREST THREAT . . . TO OUR SECURITY AND
THAT OF OUR ALLIES.' /

* * *

YESTERDAY, AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION,
I ANNOUNCED THE POSTPONEMENT OF A MAJOR OVERSEAS
TRIP UNTIL AFTER CHRISTMAS BECAUSE OF THE PARAMOUNT
IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE ENERGY PLAN
THIS YEAR. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT
DECISION, BECAUSE THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD --
ALLIES AND ADVERSARIES ALIKE -- AWAIT OUR ENERGY
DECISIONS WITH GREAT INTEREST AND CONCERN. /

* * *

* * *

AS ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCERS OF
COAL AND OIL AND GAS, WHY DO WE HAVE THIS PROBLEM
WITH ENERGY, AND WHY IS IT SO DIFFICULT TO SOLVE? /

ONE PROBLEM IS THAT THE PRICE OF ALL ENERGY IS
GOING UP BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS INCREASING SCARCITY
AND BECAUSE THE PRICE OF OIL IS NOT SET IN A FREE AND
COMPETITIVE MARKET. THE WORLD PRICE IS SET BY A
FOREIGN CARTEL -- THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE SO-CALLED
O.P.E.C. NATIONS. THAT PRICE IS NOW ALMOST FIVE
TIMES AS GREAT AS IT WAS IN 1973. /

OUR BIGGEST PROBLEM, HOWEVER, IS THAT WE
SIMPLY USE TOO MUCH -- AND WASTE TOO MUCH --
ENERGY. IMPORTS HAVE MORE THAN TRIPLED IN THE
LAST 10 YEARS. ALTHOUGH ALL COUNTRIES COULD
BE MORE EFFICIENT, WE ARE THE WORST OFFENDER. /

SINCE THE GREAT PRICE RISE IN 1973, THE JAPANESE
HAVE CUT THEIR OIL IMPORTS. THE GERMANS, THE
FRENCH, THE BRITISH, AND THE ITALIANS HAVE ALL CUT
THEIR OIL IMPORTS. MEANWHILE, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE
LARGE PETROLEUM SUPPLIES OF OUR OWN, WE IN THE
UNITED STATES HAVE INCREASED OUR IMPORTS OF OIL
MORE THAN 40 PERCENT! /

THIS PROBLEM HAS COME UPON US SUDDENLY. TEN
YEARS AGO, WHEN FOREIGN OIL WAS VERY CHEAP, WE
IMPORTED JUST 2-1/2 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL A DAY --
ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF WHAT WE USED. BY 1972 WE
WERE IMPORTING ABOUT 30 PERCENT. THIS YEAR,
WHEN FOREIGN OIL IS VERY EXPENSIVE, WE ARE IMPORTING
NEARLY 9 MILLION BARRELS A DAY -- ALMOST ONE-HALF
OF ALL THE OIL WE USE! UNLESS WE ACT QUICKLY,
IMPORTS WILL CONTINUE TO GO UP, AND ALL THE PROBLEMS
I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED WILL GROW EVEN WORSE. /

THERE ARE THREE THINGS WE MUST DO TO AVOID THE DANGER: FIRST, CUT BACK ON CONSUMPTION, SECOND, SHIFT AWAY FROM OIL AND GAS TO OTHER SOURCES OF ENERGY; AND, THIRD, ENCOURAGE PRODUCTION OF ENERGY IN THE UNITED STATES. THESE ARE THE PURPOSES OF THE NEW ENERGY LEGISLATION. /

IN ORDER TO CONSERVE ENERGY, THE CONGRESS IS NOW ACTING TO MAKE OUR AUTOMOBILES, HOMES, AND APPLIANCES MORE EFFICIENT, AND TO ENCOURAGE INDUSTRY TO SAVE BOTH HEAT AND ELECTRICITY. /

THE CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEES ARE NOW CONSIDERING CHANGES IN HOW ELECTRIC POWER RATES ARE TO BE SET IN ORDER TO DISCOURAGE WASTE, TO REWARD THOSE WHO USE LESS ENERGY, AND TO ENCOURAGE A CHANGE IN THE USE OF ELECTRICITY TO HOURS OF THE DAY WHEN DEMAND IS LOW. /

ANOTHER IMPORTANT QUESTION BEFORE CONGRESS IS
HOW TO LET THE MARKET PRICE FOR DOMESTIC OIL GO UP
TO REFLECT THE COST OF REPLACING IT, WHILE AT THE
SAME TIME PROTECTING AMERICAN CONSUMERS AND OUR
ECONOMY.

WE MUST FACE AN UNPLEASANT FACT ABOUT ENERGY
PRICES. THEY ARE GOING UP, WHETHER WE PASS AN
ENERGY PROGRAM OR NOT, AS FUEL BECOMES MORE
SCARCE AND MORE EXPENSIVE TO PRODUCE. THE
QUESTION IS WHO SHOULD BENEFIT FROM THOSE RIISING
PRICES FOR OIL ALREADY DISCOVERED. OUR ENERGY
PLAN CAPTURES AND RETURNS THEM TO THE PUBLIC,
WHERE THEY CAN STIMULATE THE ECONOMY, SAVE MORE
ENERGY, AND CREATE NEW JOBS.

WE WILL USE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS,
TAX INCENTIVES AND PENALTIES, AND REGULATORY AUTHORITY
TO HASTEN THE SHIFT FROM OIL AND GAS TO COAL, WIND
AND SOLAR POWER, GEOTHERMAL, METHANE AND OTHER
ENERGY SOURCES. /

WE HAVE ALSO PROPOSED AND CONGRESS IS REVIEWING
INCENTIVES TO ENCOURAGE PRODUCTION OF OIL AND GAS
HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. THIS IS WHERE ANOTHER
MAJOR CONTROVERSY ARISES. /

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE PROMOTE NEW OIL AND
GAS DISCOVERIES AND INCREASED PRODUCTION WITH
ADEQUATE PRICES TO THE PRODUCERS. /

WE HAVE RECOMMENDED THAT THE PRICE OF NEW
NATURAL GAS BE RAISED EACH YEAR TO THE AVERAGE PRICE
OF DOMESTIC OIL THAT WOULD PRODUCE THE SAME AMOUNT
OF ENERGY. WITH THIS NEW POLICY, THE GROSS INCOME
OF GAS PRODUCERS WOULD AVERAGE ABOUT \$2 BILLION
PER YEAR MORE THAN AT THE PRESENT PRICE LEVEL. /

NEW OIL PRICES WOULD ALSO RISE IN THREE YEARS
TO THE PRESENT WORLD LEVEL AND THEN BE INCREASED TO
KEEP UP WITH INFLATION. THIS INCENTIVE FOR NEW OIL
PRODUCTION WOULD BE THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD. /

THESE PROPOSALS WOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE INCENTIVES
FOR EXPLORATION AND PRODUCTION OF DOMESTIC OIL AND
GAS, BUT SOME OF THE OIL COMPANIES WANT MUCH MORE --
TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS MORE. THEY WANT
GREATLY INCREASED PRICES FOR "OLD" OIL AND GAS --

ENERGY SUPPLIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN DISCOVERED
AND ARE BEING PRODUCED. THEY WANT IMMEDIATE
AND PERMANENT DEREGULATION OF GAS PRICES, WHICH
WOULD COST CONSUMERS \$70 BILLION OR MORE BETWEEN
NOW AND 1985. THEY WANT EVEN HIGHER PRICES THAN
THOSE WE HAVE PROPOSED FOR "NEW" GAS AND OIL, AND
THEY WANT THE HIGH PRICES SOONER; THEY WANT LOWER
TAXES ON THEIR PROFITS. /

THESE ARE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS, AND THE
CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES ARE INTENSE. THE POLITICAL
PRESSURES ARE GREAT BECAUSE THE STAKES ARE SO HIGH.
WE SHOULD REWARD INDIVIDUALS AND COMPANIES WHO
DISCOVER AND PRODUCE NEW OIL AND GAS, BUT WE MUST
NOT GIVE THEM HUGE WINDFALL PROFITS ON THEIR EXISTING
WELLS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. /

THE ENERGY PROPOSAL I MADE TO CONGRESS LAST
APRIL HAS THREE BASIC ELEMENTS TO INSURE THAT IT IS
WELL BALANCED. /

FIRST, IT IS FAIR BOTH TO THE AMERICAN CONSUMERS
AND TO THE ENERGY PRODUCERS, AND IT WILL NOT DISRUPT
OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY; /

SECOND, IT IS DESIGNED TO MEET OUR IMPORTANT
GOALS FOR ENERGY CONSERVATION, PROMOTE A SHIFT TO
MORE PLENTIFUL AND PERMANENT ENERGY SUPPLIES, AND
ENCOURAGE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF ENERGY IN THE
UNITED STATES; AND /

THIRD, IT PROTECTS OUR FEDERAL BUDGET FROM ANY
UNREASONABLE FINANCIAL BURDEN. /

THESE ARE THE THREE STANDARDS BY WHICH THE FINAL
LEGISLATION WILL BE JUDGED. I WILL SIGN THE ENERGY
BILLS ONLY IF THEY MEET THESE TESTS. /

DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS THE CONGRESS WILL
MAKE A JUDGMENT ON THESE VITAL QUESTIONS. I WILL
BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THEM. YOU -- THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE -- ARE ALSO DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THESE DECISIONS. /

THIS IS NOT A CONTEST OF STRENGTH BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS, NOR BETWEEN THE HOUSE
AND THE SENATE. WHAT IS BEING MEASURED IS THE
STRENGTH AND WILL OF OUR NATION -- WHETHER WE CAN
ACKNOWLEDGE A THREAT AND MEET A SERIOUS CHALLENGE
TOGETHER. /

I AM CONVINCED THAT WE CAN HAVE ENOUGH ENERGY
TO PERMIT THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF OUR ECONOMY, TO
EXPAND PRODUCTION AND JOBS, AND TO PROTECT THE
SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES -- IF WE ACT WISELY. /

I BELIEVE THAT THIS COUNTRY CAN MEET ANY CHALLENGE,
BUT THIS IS AN EXCEPTIONALLY DIFFICULT ONE BECAUSE THE
THREAT IS NOT EASY TO SEE -- AND THE SOLUTION IS
NEITHER SIMPLE NOR POLITICALLY POPULAR. /

I SAID SIX MONTHS AGO THAT NO ONE WOULD BE
COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH THIS NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN.
THAT PREDICTION HAS TURNED OUT TO BE RIGHT. THERE
IS SOME PART OF THIS COMPLEX LEGISLATION TO WHICH
EVERY REGION AND EVERY INTEREST GROUP CAN OBJECT.
BUT A COMMON NATIONAL SACRIFICE TO MEET THIS SERIOUS
PROBLEM SHOULD BE SHARED BY EVERYONE -- A PROOF
THAT THE PLAN IS FAIR. MANY GROUPS HAVE RISEN TO

THE CHALLENGE, BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE STILL SOME
WHO SEEK PERSONAL GAIN OVER THE NATIONAL INTEREST. /

IT IS ALSO ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH
LONG RANGE FUTURE CHALLENGES. A PRESIDENT IS
ELECTED FOR JUST FOUR YEARS, A SENATOR FOR SIX, AND
OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS FOR ONLY TWO YEARS.
IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN EASIER TO WAIT UNTIL THE NEXT YEAR
OR THE NEXT TERM OF OFFICE -- TO AVOID POLITICAL RISK. /

BUT YOU DO NOT CHOOSE YOUR ELECTED OFFICIALS
SIMPLY TO FILL AN OFFICE. THE CONGRESS IS FACING
VERY DIFFICULT DECISIONS, AND WE HAVE FORMED A GOOD
PARTNERSHIP. ALL OF US IN GOVERNMENT NEED YOUR
HELP. /

THIS IS AN EFFORT WHICH REQUIRES VISION AND
COOPERATION FROM ALL AMERICANS. I HOPE THAT
EACH OF YOU WILL TAKE STEPS TO CONSERVE OUR
PRECIOUS ENERGY, AND ALSO JOIN WITH YOUR ELECTED
OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO MEET THIS
~~TEST~~ OF OUR NATION'S JUDGMENT AND WILL. /

THESE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS, AND THIS HAS BEEN
A SERIOUS TALK. BUT OUR ENERGY PLAN ALSO REFLECTS
THE OPTIMISM I FEEL ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH
THESE PROBLEMS. THE STORY OF THE HUMAN RACE
IS ONE OF ADAPTING TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES.
THE HISTORY OF OUR NATION IS ONE OF MEETING CHALLENGES,
AND OVERCOMING THEM. THIS MAJOR LEGISLATION IS
A NECESSARY FIRST STEP ON A LONG ROAD. /

THIS ENERGY PLAN IS A GOOD INSURANCE POLICY
FOR THE FUTURE, IN WHICH RELATIVELY SMALL PREMIUMS
WE PAY TODAY WILL PROTECT US IN THE YEARS AHEAD.
IF WE FAIL TO ACT BOLDLY TODAY, THEN WE WILL SURELY
FACE A GREATER SERIES OF CRISES TOMORROW -- ENERGY
SHORTAGES, ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE, EVER MORE
MASSIVE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AND REGULATIONS,
AND ILL CONSIDERED CRASH PROGRAMS. /

I HOPE THAT PERHAPS ONE HUNDRED YEARS FROM
NOW THE CHANGE TO INEXHAUSTIBLE ENERGY SOURCES
WILL HAVE BEEN MADE, AND OUR NATION'S CONCERN ABOUT
ENERGY WILL BE OVER. BUT WE CAN MAKE THAT
TRANSITION SMOOTHLY -- FOR OUR COUNTRY AND FOR
OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN -- ONLY IF WE TAKE
CAREFUL STEPS NOW TO PREPARE OURSELVES FOR THE
FUTURE. /

DURING THE NEXT FEW WEEKS ATTENTION WILL BE
FOCUSED ON THE CONGRESS, BUT THE PROVING OF OUR
COURAGE AND COMMITMENT WILL CONTINUE, IN
DIFFERENT FORMS AND PLACES, IN THE MONTHS AND
YEARS AND GENERATIONS AHEAD.

IT IS FITTING THAT I AM SPEAKING TO YOU ON
AN ELECTION DAY -- A DAY WHICH REMINDS US THAT
YOU THE PEOPLE ARE THE RULERS OF THIS NATION --
THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE AS COURAGEOUS AND
EFFECTIVE AND FAIR AS YOU DEMAND THAT IT BE.

THIS WILL NOT BE THE LAST TIME I PRESENT
DIFFICULT AND CONTROVERSIAL CHOICES TO YOU AND ASK
FOR YOUR HELP. ~~FOR~~ I BELIEVE THAT THE DUTIES OF
THIS OFFICE PERMIT ME TO DO NO LESS.

BUT I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN FIND THE
WISDOM AND THE COURAGE TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS --
EVEN WHEN THEY ARE UNPLEASANT -- SO THAT WE MIGHT,
TOGETHER, PRESERVE THE GREATNESS OF OUR NATION.

#

11/8/77

lost

It is ~~[particularly]~~ fitting that I ^{am speaking} ~~^~~ speak to you on election day -- a day which reminds us that you the people are the rulers of this nation -- that your government will be as courageous and effective and fair as you demand that it be.

In asking for your support and understanding in these ^{next} ~~final~~ crucial weeks, I reaffirm my faith in that democratic system.

This will not be the last time that I present difficult and controversial choices to you and ask for your help. For I believe that the duties of this office ~~[and my commitments to you]~~ permit me to do no less.

But I am confident that ~~[together]~~ we can find the wisdom and the courage to make the right decisions -- even when they are unpleasant -- ^{so that we might - together -} ~~I ask you tonight and will continue to ask so long as I hold this office that you join me in that effort. to preserve the greatness of our nation.~~

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for Preservation Purposes

More than six months ago, in April, I spoke to you about the need for a national policy to deal with our present and future energy problems, and the next day I sent my proposals to the Congress.

The Congress has recognized the urgency of this problem, and has come to grips with some of the most complex and difficult decisions a legislative body has ever been asked to make.

Working with Congress we have ~~now~~ formed a new Department of Energy, headed by Secretary James Schlesinger. We now have the ability to implement the new energy legislation, and Congressional work on the national energy plan has now reached the final stage.

Last week the Senate sent its version of the legislation to the conference committees, where members of the House and Senate will now resolve differences between the bills they have passed. There,

in the next few weeks, the strength and courage of our political system will be proven.

The choices facing the Congress are not easy. For them to pass an effective and fair plan, they will need your support and understanding -- your support to resist pressures from a few for special favors at the expense of the rest of us and your understanding that there can be no effective plan without some sacrifice from all of us.

Tonight, at this crucial time, I want to emphasize why it is so important that we have an energy plan, and what we will risk as a nation if we are timid, or reluctant^t to face this challenge. It is crucial that you understand how serious this challenge is.

With every passing month, our energy problems have grown worse. This summer we used more oil and gasoline than ever before in our history. More of our oil is coming from foreign countries. Just since April our oil imports have cost us \$23 billion -- almost \$400 worth of foreign oil for every family in the United States.

A few weeks ago in Detroit an unemployed steelworker told me something that may reflect the feelings of many of you. "Mr. President," he said, "I don't feel much like talking about energy and foreign policy. I am concerned about how I am going to live. . . . I can't be too concerned about other things when I have a 10 year old daughter to raise and I don't have a job, and I am 56 years old."

I understand how he felt, but I must tell you the truth, and the truth is that you cannot talk about our economic problems now or in the future without talking about energy.

Let me try to describe the size and effect of the problem: our farmers are the greatest agricultural exporters the world has ever known, but it now takes all the food and fiber that we can export in two years to pay for just one year of imported oil -- about \$45 billion!

This excessive importing of foreign oil is a tremendous and rapidly increasing drain on our national economy. It hurts every American family.

It causes unemployment. Every \$5 billion ^{increase} in ~~extra~~ oil imports costs us about 200,000 American jobs.

It costs us business investments. Vast amounts of American wealth no longer stay in the United States to build our factories and give us a better life, but this wealth goes overseas to enrich other nations.

It makes it harder for us to balance our federal budget and to finance needed programs for our people.

It unbalances our nation's trade with other countries. This year, primarily because of oil, our imports will be at least \$25 billion more than all the American goods we sell overseas.

[It could eventually threaten the strength of the dollar in world markets unless we act to stop this drain on our nation's wealth.]

It pushes up international energy prices because excessive importing of oil by the United States makes it easier for foreign producers to raise their prices.

It feeds serious inflationary pressures in our own economy.

If this trend continues, the excessive purchase of foreign oil could make the very security of our nation increasingly dependent on uncertain energy supplies. Our national security depends on more than our armed forces. It also rests on the strength of our economy, on our national will, and on the ability of the United States to carry out our foreign policy as a free and independent nation. America overseas is only as strong as America at home.

The Secretary of Defense said recently, "The present deficiency of assured energy sources is the single surest threat . . . to our security and that of our allies."

* * *

Yesterday, after careful consideration, I announced the postponement of a major overseas trip until after Christmas because of the paramount importance of developing an effective energy plan this year. I have no doubt that this is the right decision, because the other nations of the world -- allies and adversaries alike -- await our energy decisions with great interest and concern.

* * *

As one of the world's largest producers of coal and oil and gas, why do we have this problem with energy, and why is it so difficult to solve?

One problem is that the price of all energy is going up both because of its increasing scarcity and because the price of oil is not set in a free and competitive market. The world price is set by a foreign cartel -- the governments of the so-called OPEC nations. That price is now almost five times as great as it was in 1973.

Our biggest problem, however, is that we simply use too much -- and waste too much -- energy. Our demand for oil is doubling every 15 or 20 years. Although all countries could be more efficient, we are the worst offender. Since the great price rise in 1973, the Japanese have cut their oil imports. The Germans, the French, the British, the Canadians, and the Italians have all cut their oil imports. Meanwhile, although we have large petroleum supplies of our own,

we in the United States have increased our imports of oil more than 40 percent!

This problem has come upon us suddenly. Ten years ago, when foreign oil was very cheap, we imported just 2½ million barrels of oil a day -- about 20 percent of what we used. By 1972 we were importing about 30 percent. This year, when foreign oil is very expensive, we are importing nearly 9 million barrels a day -- almost one-half of all the oil we use! Unless we act quickly, imports will continue to go up, and all the problems I have just described will grow even worse.

There are three things we must do to avoid the danger: first, cut back on consumption; second, shift away from oil and gas to other sources of energy; and,

third, encourage production of energy in the United States. These are the purposes of the new energy legislation.

In order to conserve energy, the Congress is now acting to make our automobiles, homes, and appliances more efficient, and to encourage industry to save both heat and electricity.

The Congressional conference committees are now considering changes in how electric power rates are to be set in order to discourage waste, to reward those who use less energy, and to encourage a change in the use of electricity to hours of the day when demand is low. Another important question before Congress is how to let the market price for domestic oil go up to reflect the cost of replacing it, while

at the same time protecting American consumers and our economy.

We must face an unpleasant fact about energy prices. They are going up, whether we pass an energy program or not, as fuel becomes scarcer and more expensive to produce. The question is who should benefit from those rising prices for oil already discovered. Our energy plan captures ~~(the rising prices)~~ and returns them to the public, where they can stimulate the economy, save more energy, and create new jobs.

We will use research and development projects, tax incentives and penalties, and regulatory authority to hasten the shift from oil and gas to coal, wind and solar power, geothermal, methane and other energy sources.

We have also proposed and Congress is acting on incentives to encourage production of oil and gas here in our own country. This is where another major controversy arises.

It is important that we promote new oil and gas discoveries and increased production with adequate prices to the producers.

We have recommended that the price of new natural gas be raised each year to the average price of domestic oil that would produce the same amount of energy. With this new policy, the gross income of gas producers would average about \$2 billion per year more than at the present price level.

New oil prices would also rise in three years to the present world level and then be increased to keep

up with inflation. This incentive for new oil production would be the highest in the world.

These proposals would provide adequate incentives for exploration and production of domestic oil and gas, but some of the oil companies want much more -- tens of billions of dollars more. They want greatly increased prices for "old" oil and gas -- energy supplies which have already been discovered and are being produced. They want immediate and permanent deregulation of gas prices, which would cost consumers \$70 billion or more between now and 1985. They want even higher prices than those we have proposed for "new" gas and oil, and they want the high prices sooner; they want lower taxes on their profits, and they want government financing or loans for energy production

from a tax-supported energy trust fund.

These are controversial questions, and the Congressional debates are intense. The political pressures are great because the stakes are so high. We should reward individuals and companies who discover and produce new oil and gas, but we must not give them huge windfall profits on their existing wells at the expense of the American people.

The energy proposal I made to Congress last April has three basic elements to insure that it is well balanced.

First, it is fair both to the American consumers and to the energy producers, and it will disrupt our national economy as little as possible;

Second, it is designed to meet our important goals for energy conservation, promote a shift to more plentiful and permanent energy supplies, and encourage increased production of energy in the United States; and

Third, it protects our federal budget from any unreasonable financial burden.

These are the three standards by which the final legislation will be judged. I will sign the energy bills only if they meet these tests.

During the next few weeks the Congress will make a judgment on these vital questions. I will be working closely with them. You -- the American people -- are also deeply involved in these decisions.

This is not a contest of strength between the President and the Congress, nor between the House and the Senate. What is being measured is the strength and will of our nation -- whether we can acknowledge a threat and meet a serious challenge together.

I am convinced that we can have enough energy to permit the continued growth of our economy, the expansion of production and jobs, and to protect the security of the United States -- if we act wisely.

I believe that this country can meet any challenge, but this is an exceptionally difficult one because the threat is not easy to see -- and the solution is neither simple nor politically popular.

I said six months ago that no one would be completely satisfied with this national energy plan.

That prediction has turned out to be right. There is some part of this complex legislation to which every region and every interest group can object. But a common national sacrifice to meet this serious problem should be shared by everyone -- a proof that the plan is fair. Many groups have risen to the challenge, but unfortunately there are still some who seek personal gain over the national interest.

It is also especially difficult to deal with long range future challenges. A President is elected for just four years, a Senator for six, and our Representatives in Congress for only two years. It has always been easier to wait until the next year or the next term of office -- to avoid political risk.

But you do not choose your elected officials simply to fill an office. The Congress is facing very

difficult decisions, and we have^{re}formed a good partnership. All of us in government need your help.

* * *

This is an effort which requires vision and cooperation from all Americans. I hope that each of you will take steps to conserve our precious energy, and also join with your elected officials at all levels of government to meet this test of our nation's judgment and will.

These are serious problems, and this has been a serious talk. But our energy plan also reflects the optimism I feel about our ability to deal with these problems. The story of the human race is one of adapting to changing circumstances. The history of our nation is one of meeting challenges, and overcoming

them. This ~~major~~ legislation is a necessary first step on that long road.

This energy plan is a good insurance policy for the future, in which relatively small premiums we pay today will protect us in the years ahead. If we fail to act boldly today, then we will surely face a greater series of crises tomorrow -- energy shortages, environmental damage, ~~ever~~more massive government bureaucracy and regulations, and ill considered crash programs.

I hope that perhaps one hundred years from now the change to permanent energy sources will have been made, and our nation's concern about energy will be over. But we can make that transition smoothly -- for our country and for our children and grandchildren --

only if we take careful steps now to prepare ourselves for the future.

During the next few weeks attention will be focused on the Congress, but the proving of our courage and commitment will continue, in different forms and places, in the months and years and generations ahead.

It is fitting that I am speaking to you on election day -- a day which reminds us that you the people are the rulers of this nation -- that your government will be as courageous and effective and fair as you demand that it be.

In asking for your support and understanding in these next crucial weeks, I reaffirm my faith in that democratic system.

This will not be the last time that I present difficult and controversial choices to you and ask for your help. For I believe that the duties of this office permit me to do no less.

But I am confident that we can find the wisdom and the courage to make the right decisions -- even when they are unpleasant -- so that we might, together, preserve the greatness of our nation.